

Social Security Amendments Slash U.S. Welfare Benefits

By Dick Roberts

After nearly a year of debate, Congress has passed the 1967 Social Security Act Amendments. Trumped up as a big gain for the aged, the amendments do little in that regard and actually have brutally slashed welfare payments. And, through the tricky Social Security setup, what the amendments boil down to is a concealed general tax increase to go toward paying for the Vietnam war.

Originally recommended by President Johnson last January, the amendments raise minimum social security payments only 13 percent. This brings the average benefit for retired workers to \$1,150 a year, the average benefit for aged widows to \$1,010 a year and the average benefit for a retired couple to \$1,885 a year. All these payments are far below levels recognized by the government as minimum subsistence.

At the same time the new social security amendments substantially increase social security taxes and take steps to remove hundreds of thousands of the neediest men, women, and children from federal welfare rolls.

This brutal slashing of government welfare was accomplished by freezing the number of recipients of federal-state Aid to Families with Dependent Children. AFDC currently provides subsistence payments to about 5 million adults and children, mainly in northern big-city ghettos. Over 50 percent of the recipients are black. Their "benefits" average \$37 a month — \$153 per family.

To this pittance the 90th Congress not only refused to add one single cent, it took steps to lower the payments. The 1967 social security bill freezes the number of people eligible for federal AFDC payments at last January's level.

This means that as the number of those in need of such aid continues to grow, there will be no increase in payments. The number of AFDC recipients doubled in the last decade and there is every reason to believe this trend will continue in the future.

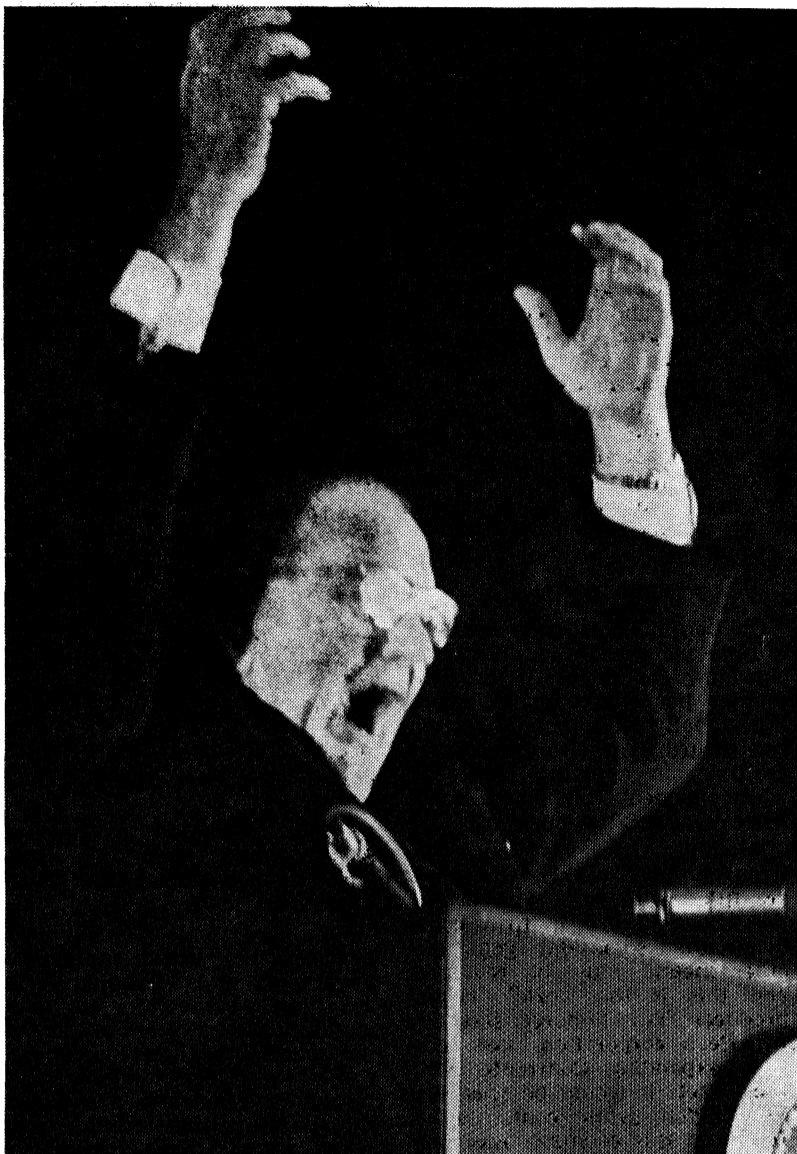
Sen. Harris (D-Okla.) predicted that the new law would force 300,000 children off relief next July alone. In addition, the law would allow states to throw parents off relief if they do not take part in "job education" programs or if they refuse to take jobs "recommended" by the state after completing such training.

Furthermore, the new social security law substantially lessens the rate of federal medicaid payments. Currently running at \$1.3 billion annually, these payments would increase to \$3 billion by 1972 if the old law were left standing. Under the new social security bill, the 1972 level will be only \$1.7 billion. (*Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 14)

The 1967 Social Security Act

War Protesters Plan to Picket Johnson Ranch

Texas opponents of the war in Vietnam plan to demonstrate at Lyndon Johnson's ranch on Christmas day to demand that U.S. troops be brought home from Vietnam. Called by the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the demonstration will take place from 2-5 p.m. The organizers declared in their call: "By our presence, we will declare to American soldiers, to the Vietnamese, and to all citizens, that we will resist a system in which young Americans are unwilling executioners of women and children in an immoral war against civilians."



NEW IMAGE. Johnson's Social Security swindle has passed Congress.

Amendments are so flagrantly unfair to workers that 14 liberal senators — primarily from Northern industrial states — felt compelled to vote against them. Twelve of these 14 legislators face reelection in 1970 or 1972, when the full effects of the legislation will be felt.

The first rise in social security taxes for workers making less than \$6,600 will not take place until 1969 — after next year's elections. In the House of Representatives, where all legislators are up for reelection before the toll will be felt, the vote for the social security bill was 388 to 3.

On the surface, workers and employers pay equal employment taxes into a federal fund called the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund (OASI). The OASI then pays the workers back, when they retire, from money in the fund.

In point of fact, few workers will ever receive as much back as they put into the fund to begin with, and the fund itself almost without exception collects more money each year than it pays back. This tendency of the OASI to collect more each year than it pays out will be greatly stimulated.

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SWP Campaign Gains Early Support

By Les Evans

The Socialist Workers election campaign in 1968 is shaping up as the most widely supported socialist election effort in three decades in this country. Socialist Workers Party candidates, Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice President, have already carried out speaking tours that have taken them throughout the country with the election year not even yet begun.

One result of their tours and of the work of campaign supporters in many cities is the growing list of sponsors of the campaign, which already stands at many hundreds. These sponsors represent an impressive measure of the breadth of appeal of socialist candidates running in clear-cut opposition to the ruling capitalist parties and their war in Vietnam. Many student activists and black militants have rallied to support the campaign, although they may not agree with all the planks in the SWP's program.

Right now there are sponsors in 38 states plus the District of Columbia. Sponsors have signed up for the campaign in 128 cities across the country, many of them

in the deep South — which has been an area that had seemed immune to socialist ideas.

There are campaign supporters at more than 100 college and university campuses, from Princeton to Berkeley to South Carolina State College at Orangeburg, S.C., to Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, and Colby College in Maine, Franconia College in New Hampshire, Loyola University in Louisiana and Goddard College in Vermont.

We already know of 23 high school campuses where students are drumming up support for the campaign, including such widely separated places as Lamar Senior High in Houston, Tex.; Kenwood H.S., Chicago; Needham High School, Needham, Mass.; Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School, Bethesda, Md.; Hawthorne H.S., Silver Springs, Md.; and Dunbar H.S. in Washington, D.C.

Black supporters of the campaign have become sponsors of Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle in 27 cities in 17 states.

There are black sponsors or groups of Afro-American supporters in Tuskegee, Orrville and Mobile, Ala.; Dover, Del.; Atlanta, Ga.; and many others.

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Meany Joins Big Lie Drive

By Fred Halstead

AFL-CIO President George Meany used the AFL-CIO convention last week as the occasion to respond to mounting criticism of the war in Vietnam within the labor movement by smearing the critics with the Big Lie technique perfected by Adolph Hitler — now consciously cultivated by the Johnson administration.

During a 45-minute debate on the war, a delegate from the Colorado State Federation of Labor read a statement opposing the war, adopted at a Trade Union Leadership Assembly for Peace held in Chicago Nov. 11-12. This statement pointed out that there is as much dissent on the war among unionists as among other sections of the U.S. population and appealed for a discussion on the war at all levels of the union movement. Meany responded that there is no "great division" on his policy of backing Johnson's war, and asserted that the Chicago Assembly "was planned in Hanoi." He also asserted that "every line" of the Assembly's statement had been published in *The Communist Party organ, The Worker*, two weeks before the Chicago Assembly met.

These lies were answered after the convention debate by statements to the press by United Auto Workers Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey, Amalgamated Clothing Workers Secretary-Treasurer Frank Rosenblum, and Amalgamated Meat Cutters, Secretary-Treasurer Patrick Gorman, who pointed out that they and other unionists had organized the Chicago Assembly under the auspices of the Trade Union division of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

The Worker published the Assembly's public statement after the meeting, not before it.

Mazey, speaking from Detroit because the UAW boycotted the AFL-CIO convention, said of Meany's remarks that they were "libelous, slanderous and false charges" to be expected from "a senile old man" like Meany. But these statements of Meany were no mere slips of the tongue due to age, the accident of polemical heat, or to erroneous information from advisers.

Meany knows very well what the facts of the Chicago Assembly are. He is sorely concerned with the opposition to the war that is spreading in the ranks of labor, as it is among other Americans, and he has decided to meet this opposition by attempting to crush and silence it with the crudest kind of intimidation, including the technique of the "Big Lie."

This technique consists of telling a really big lie — the more it flouts the facts the better — and repeating it loudly, often, and in various forms, while people get tired of refuting the obvious falsehood over and over. The lie then begins to stick, to some degree, and a hysteria develops behind it. The particular lie Meany used here has been launched by the Johnson administration against the antiwar movement. Most recently it was repeated during a "briefing" of Congressmen to the effect that the Oct. 21 antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C., was "planned in Hanoi."

This too, is no accident — the administration knows in great de-

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PAUL BOUTELLE. Campaigning Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President has already spoken at many campuses.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Readers will be interested in an appraisal of the basic factors in the present copper strike, by A. H. Raskin of the *New York Times* editorial staff. Here are excerpts from his report in the Dec. 17 issue of the paper:

"... The AFL-CIO pledged all its resources to win the five-month-old strike of 60,000 copper workers. . . .

"What is being tested in copper is the potency of a new mode of collective bargaining in which 26 unions, led by the million-member United Steelworkers of America, have pooled their strength in an attempt to compel the Big Four of the nonferrous metal industry — Kennecott, Phelps Dodge, Anaconda and American Smelting and Refining — to sign coordinated contracts with all the unions on a company-wide basis. . . .

"But most large companies in other fields share the copper industry's belief that its strike represents a Rubicon where the union drive for coalition bargaining must be halted. . . .

"And on the management side the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce have joined forces against any Government move to bail out the striking unions through intervention that bypasses the 80-day no-strike injunction procedures of the Taft-Hartley Act.

"The unions are dead set against such an injunction. They favor a proposal by Montana's two Democratic Senators, Mike Mansfield and Lee Metcalf, for appointment of a Cabinet-level fact-finding board to make settlement recommendations. . . .

"The companies want no part of the panel, partly because they object to any extra-legal peace machinery but more especially because their acceptance would in itself prejudice their position in principle against any approach to coalition bargaining. The industry's view is that the Government should keep hands off or get a national emergency injunction under Taft-Hartley. . . .

"That reduces the entire conflict to a state of siege, in which either the companies or the unions must eventually raise the flag of surrender. . . .

"... both camps are in accord that copper represents 'the moment of truth' for long-term labor-management relationships."

* * *

We found a delightful new variation on the old adage — "crying in your beer." A member of the Steelworkers Union, in a letter to a daily paper, described the bureaucrats at the AFL-CIO convention at Bal Harbour, Fla., as "crying in their champagne."

* * *

The American Newspaper Guild struck the Los Angeles Hearst-owned *Herald Examiner* on Dec. 15.

The Guild represents 1,100 of the *Examiner* employees and has been in negotiations since their contract ran out on Nov. 18. The

main issues are increased wages and health and pension benefits.

A spokesman for the International Typographical Union, representing 400 printers and mailers, said, "We have been locked out by the threat of a citizen's arrest on the spot."

* * *

Printers have struck the Columbia, S.C., State Record Publishing Co., but the two newspapers involved continue to publish.

The company and the union have been negotiating since Jan. 1 (almost a year now). The key issue concerns wage scales for female employees hired to punch tape for computerized typesetting equipment.

* * *

An agreement has been reached between the Cincinnati Newspaper Publishers Assn. and Local 20 of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union, in time to avoid a strike scheduled for Dec. 17. The agreement is reported to include a wage increase of \$26 a week, retroactive to Nov. 1. It also provides jobs for 36 men on new presses to be used on two of Cincinnati's daily papers.

* * *

Albert Shanker, leader of the New York City teachers' union, has given up his fight to avoid imprisonment under the state's Taylor (RAT) Law as a result of last fall's teachers' strike. He announced he and his union were not going to carry the case to the U.S. Supreme Court as they had intended because "In this political climate we could not get the Nunez decision overturned by appealing it further." The Appellate Division of the federal courts had upheld the contempt conviction of Mr. Shanker on Dec. 14.

In addition to the jailing of the union leader for 15 days, the Teachers' Federation will have to pay a fine of \$150,000 for "conducting an illegal strike." Previously the state board of education had suspended the union's dues check-off for one year.

* * *

The Transport Workers Union and the city of New York are still in negotiations. But the jailing of Mr. Shanker has thrown an apparent monkey wrench into the seeming buddy-buddy relationship between the union negotiators and the city-appointed mediators.

In a statement immediately after the announcement that the Teachers' Federation appeal of Mr. Shanker's contempt conviction and the \$150,000 fine imposed upon the union had been rejected, Matthew Guinan and Daniel Gilmartin, president and vice-president of the Transport Workers Union, issued a strong statement.

"Our members consider this outrage as an attempt to intimidate them in their efforts to win their just contract demands — and the public should know that, as a consequence of this anti-labor act, hope for a peaceful settlement of transport negotiations has diminished considerably."

—Marvel Scholl

PAUL BOUTELLE REPORTS

Sulzberger and South Africa

C. L. Sulzberger, a member of the *New York Times* editorial staff, has recently written a few columns on South Africa, "explaining" its apartheid policies and speaking against any U.S. sanctions against the white supremacist government there.

On Dec. 11 he quotes South African Prime Minister Vorster as follows: "Separate development is not a denial of human rights. It is a question of making it possible for each racial group to maintain its identity and the creation for each racial group of facilities and opportunities of development which have never existed before." And, "Likewise we are building separate black homelands: the Transkei for Xhosas; Zululand for Zulus; the northern Transvaal for Tswanas. These are black nations which will be led to complete independence like that of Malawi."

"Pipe Down"

On Dec. 15, Sulzberger said, "It is time for the United States to pipe down on South Africa. This country has a race policy which I personally find both abhorrent and absurd. It is also exceedingly arbitrary in applying justice to white opponents, but that is South Africa's affair, not ours."

"South Africa is becoming stronger, not weaker. Its ports are filled with ships that cannot pass Suez. There is firm confidence that some day gold, like other metals, must be revalued; and this is the world's largest producer. Two hundred sixty-one American corporations here continue expanding. Confronted with these facts it would be wiser for Washington, while continuing to frown on this country's race policy, to regard that as South Africa's affair and to further our cultural intrusion."

Facts

Following are some of the facts about this country, whose racist rulers Sulzberger apologizes for: Income per capita: whites, \$1,790; blacks, \$116. Average wage in mining: whites, \$3,800; blacks, \$210.



RACIST COPS IN ACTION. South African cops attack peaceful demonstration in Durban, January 1964.

Income exempt from taxes: whites, \$3,800; blacks, none. Life expectancy: whites, 67-72 years; blacks, 37-42 years.

Here are some of the legal penalties the white supremacist government uses: Banning — the government can confine any critic to his home for years and forbid newspapers to quote him on any subject. A special 180-day jail term — a renewable prison term for alleged political offenders, imposed without any charge. Five years in jail — for painting political signs or wall slogans. Death — for attempting to flee the country without a permit, or for possession of firearms by Africans.

Sulzberger wants to "frown" on South Africa's policies, while ensuring friendly relations so that the profits will continue to flow for the U.S. capitalists who have investments there. He would like

to see a more moderate policy on the part of the whites in South Africa, out of fear that eventually there could be a revolution there, but would rather see the status quo maintained than see a transfer of power to the black masses.

The *U.S. News and World Report* of Sept. 25 carried a story headed, "Now Guerrilla War Threatens White Africa." The article says, "This question is being asked: Could Southern Africa become another Vietnam?"

It is important for black Americans to see the worldwide aspects of the freedom struggle. Southern Africa can become another Vietnam and it is possible that the U.S. would send troops to support the Vorster government against a black revolution. Black U.S. men would then be told to go to South Africa to fight against their brothers, like they are being told to do today in Vietnam.

—Paul Boutelle

SOCIALIST FUND

Seven Over the Top!

By Evelyn Reed
Fund Director

Through miscalculation, the scoreboard scheduled for last week is appearing this week. But the delay enables us to chalk up a larger number of winners in the \$20,000 Socialist Fund drive — adding more reasons for cheer and celebration over the holidays.

Last time only the "General" category had fulfilled its quota. Since then six regions of the country have raced along and reached 100 percent or more. Here is the order in which they were flagged down at the finish line: First came Boston, followed by Allentown, Detroit, Cleveland, Twin Cities and then New York — which now stands at the head of the list.

Word from other parts of the country indicates that all the contenders expect to wind up fulfilling or surpassing their quotas on the last scoreboard.

One West Coast contributor remarked when he sent in his second contribution: "Times are a-changin'. It's nice to push things along the SWP way." From the Midwest a contributor says, "Each dollar gives the Party that much more life in the battle against the Foes." And on the East Coast a young couple were married during the drive and then hiked their separate pledges totaling \$75 to \$200. Anybody else getting married this month??

There's still plenty of competition left in the race. With only two weeks to go, a spirited match

is now going on between those on top of the list. Although the General still leads the list at this point, New York is not yet yielding the title. And Boston is just behind New York, making it a three-way race between the General, the Hub and the Titan of the East.

Look for the scoreboard early in January to get the final results. If *Militant* readers want to keep the "General" out front, send more contributions before New Year's Day.

Cancer Research Cut By Viet War

One of the nation's leading scientists has warned that costs of the Vietnam war are slowly drying up money for research into the causes of cancer and birth defects.

Dr. Mehran Goulian, who recently made headlines as the first scientist to synthesize living material out of viruses, said, "To the extent that we are limiting basic research of this type, we are endangering our future health." Goulian said that until two years ago there was no lack of funds for his area of research.

Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
General	\$ 600	\$ 764	127
New York	5,100	5,330	105
Boston	1,200	1,250	104
Allentown	125	125	100
Cleveland	1,200	1,200	100
Detroit	1,200	1,200	100
Twin Cities	1,200	1,200	100
San Diego	150	132	88
Oakland-Berkeley	1,400	1,200	86
San Francisco	1,200	1,010	84
Philadelphia	600	477	80
Los Angeles	4,000	3,146	79
Chicago	1,500	1,100	73
St. Louis	60	40	67
Denver	70	30	43
Newark	100	35	35
Seattle	300	25	8
	\$20,000	\$18,264	91

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Young Socialist Trailblazers

By Susan Harris

NEW YORK — Socialist election campaign activity is already under way in Albany, Syracuse, Rochester, and in Bridgeport, Conn., according to two Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle who recently returned from a "trail-blaze" campaign tour of Connecticut and upstate New York.

Driving a red Chevy filled with campaign literature, the two trailblazers, Peggy Brundy and Suzanne Weiss, visited 13 campuses in 13 days. They told *The Militant* they were able to arrange for meetings for the Socialist Workers Party candidates or spokesmen at every campus.

Pamphlets and posters about Che Guevara sold better than any other literature, the two said. At Buffalo, when a group of students saw the Che Guevara stickers, they immediately started plastering them up around the student union. Books and pamphlets by Malcolm X were also in great demand.

In explaining why interest in the campaign was high, Peggy commented, "The most impressive thing to me was the serious thinking and searching that is going on among students who want to find a way to change society . . . People are anxious to do something now. That is why Che is such a hero — he acted, and died, for his ideas."

Suzanne added that although there was a lot of interest in Che, people did not know very much about the Cuban revolution. "But when we talked to them about Cuba," she said, "they were very enthusiastic and anxious to learn more."

On every campus there was an Afro-American student organization or one in the process of formation. All the campuses also had



YOUNG SOCIALISTS. Suzanne Weiss, right, and Peggy Brundy discuss visits to campuses.

antiwar organizations actively engaged in protests against Dow Chemical, CIA, military recruiters, etc.

There was almost unanimous support among antiwar activists for the Socialist Workers Party campaign slogan of "Bring the Troops Home Now." Many students signed up as endorsers of the socialist ticket. But, "Some people are considering support for Senator McCarthy," Suzanne said. "They do not see the contradiction between calling for bringing the troops home and voting for McCarthy. We took part in a number of debates on this issue."

Even though there was a lot of support for Malcolm X, Peggy

said that "a lot of the white students did not yet understand or identify with the SWP campaign slogan of 'Black Control of the Black Community.' We had a number of discussions in which we had to explain our support for black nationalism and black power."

The trailblazers had no trouble concerning their right to pass out literature or set up literature tables. They reported, "When we asked about possible trouble from college authorities at Rochester University, a student told us, 'If the campus police try to throw you off, we'll start a protest demonstration so fast they'll never know what hit them.'"

... SWP Campaign Support

(Continued from Page 1)

Ga.; New Orleans and Baton Rouge, La.; Lexington, Ky.; Jackson, Miss.; Houston, Austin and Conroe, Tex.; Norfolk and Portsmouth, Va.; St. Louis, Mo.; and Washington, D.C., just to give an idea of the spread of the campaign in the South and those states nearby.

Some of the Afro-American sponsors include John Hendrik Clarke, associate editor of *Freedomways*; John Wilson and Carol Carter of the New York Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Alma Lee White of Houston SNCC; Brenda Joyce Temple of Students for a New South at Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge; Le Roy Tate, president of the Student Government Association at Delaware State College at Dover, Del.; Virginia Collins of the New Orleans Southern Conference Educational Fund; Henry Hatches Jr., Southern Consumers Cooperative, Jackson, Miss.; James Houghton, director of the Harlem Unemployment Center; Nathan Payne of the Orrville Farmers Coop, Orrville, Ala.; Sarah Bankhead of the Black Awareness Coordinating Committee, South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, S.C.; and Donald D. Madison, chairman of the Lexington, Ky., chapter of CORE.

A large number of activities and organizers of Students for a Democratic Society have signed as sponsors of the 1968 campaign.

These include SDSers at the University of Delaware at Newark, Del.; Oklahoma U. at Norman; the U. of Texas at Austin and Houston; Rutgers U. in New Brunswick, N.J.; Princeton; Yale; Carleton College in Northfield, Minn.; Hunter College and Columbia University in New York; and campuses in Wilmington, Del.; Moscow, Idaho; and Nashville, Tenn.

John Ratliff, vice-chairman of the Oklahoma U. Chapter of SDS has become a sponsor of the campaign. He has been the center of a recent fight on the campus after being reclassified from 2-S to 1-A for his antiwar activity. Wilfred C. Lyon, the SDS organizer in New Brunswick, N.J., and Nancy Sutula, SDS organizer at Douglass College, also in New Brunswick; Sandra Lynne Smith, an SDS officer at Carleton College; David K. Barnes, secretary-treasurer of SDS at the U. of Delaware in Newark; and Doug Barnhard of Houston SDS are supporting the campaign.

Other sponsors include Bob Fitch, author of *Ghana, End of an Illusion*; Alfredo Peña, New York Movement for Puerto Rican Independence; Laura Reid, president of Student League for Human Rights, U. of Bridgeport, Conn.; Prof. Sondra Silvern, N.Y.; Evan Stark, student leader at U. of Wisconsin at Madison; Paul Vogt, Bloomington, Ind., Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Russel M. Wills, facing a five-year sentence for draft refusal in Seattle; Fred Lonidier, former Peace Corps worker threatened with draft;

Buford Posey, board member, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Nashville; Francie Broderick, St. Louis Univ. Action Committee, Mo.; Prof. James D. Cockcroft, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio; Ruth Gage-Colby, Women's International League for

Peace and Freedom; Dave Cunningham, acting chairman, Iowa Socialist League, Iowa City;

Mark E. Donnelly, Vietnam Veterans Against the War; Robert Gabriner, coeditor, *Connections*, U. of Wis. underground paper; James E. Gardner, U. of Texas CEWV, Austin; John Gray, executive board member, Los Angeles Peace Action Council; Wayne Hazen, chairman, CEWV, Norfolk, N.Y.; Chris Kearns, *Catholic Worker*; Sp4 Maury Knutson, 16 863100, 610th Maintenance Co., Ft. Benning, Ga.; Linda Morse, executive secretary, Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Fr. Richard Braus, St. Louis; and Paul E. Jensen, president of the Louisiana State University Student Liberal Federation, Baton Rouge.

Paul Boutelle Addresses Norfolk, Va. Convocation

At noon on Dec. 11 Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, wound up his second speaking tour of Southern campuses with a talk to over 1,000 students at Virginia State College, Norfolk Division.

The meeting was set up by Joel Nwagbaraocha, a Nigerian student who is president of the predominantly black student body. Every Monday at noon is set aside at Norfolk State for a convocation of the whole student body to hear some speaker on current cultural or political affairs.

Boutelle spoke for 45 minutes on "Nationalism, Socialism, and the 1968 Elections," and then answered

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S.F. State Organizes To Fight Suspensions

By Mary Kraft

SAN FRANCISCO — As a result of the suspension of six students and a campus newspaper, the Movement Against Political Suspensions, which is sweeping California campuses, has been formed at San Francisco State College.

S.F. State MAPS engaged in a militant confrontation early in December over the six suspensions. Four of the suspended students were members of the Black Students Union, alleged to have been involved in a fight that took place early last month in the offices of the school's daily, the *Gater*. The two others were suspended as a result of the publication of an "obscene poem" in *Open Process*, a weekly "underground" type paper also published by students at S.F. State. *Open Process* publication was also suspended.

MAPS presented its demands for rescinding the suspensions and establishing due process at S.F. State on Dec. 13. After a morning rally, the students congregated at the school's administration building. They found that President Summerskill had sent the administrators and clerks home and locked the building, to avoid meeting

with students about the MAPS demands.

Professor John Gerassi led the way as 200 to 300 militant students forced their way into the building chanting, "Hell No, No Suspensions!" After conducting a "mill-in," the students left the building.

Elsewhere on campus, members of the Black Students Union and some nonstudent black youth made clear their opposition to the suspensions. A few fights broke out (played up by the press into a "wild melee") and some incidents of vandalism were reported. But the real violence, as Professor Gerassi pointed out, was that of the college administration which locked out the students in an effort to avoid meeting their demands.

The next day, MAPS held a teach-in to explain what had happened, and opened the microphone to any student who had something to say on the confrontation.

During the "mill-in," some 2,000 students gathered outside the administration building to support the students within or to watch what was going on. The teach-in drew a crowd of over 1,000. MAPS meetings since have had nearly 200 in attendance.

... Social Security

(Continued from Page 1)

ed by the 1967 amendments. In the three decades since its inception, the OASI has collected a surplus in all but five years. The result has been the accumulation of \$20 billion in the fund. In the next five years, *Fortune Magazine* predicted in December, "additions to the fund are expected to grow to unprecedented levels."

"The Social Security Administration estimates that almost \$36 billion will be added to the hoard by 1972 — an average of more than \$7 billion a year being taken from the economy." In the same article *Fortune* declares "over the next decade . . . receipts might exceed benefits by some \$100 billion."

What happens to the "hoard" of money the federal government bilks from workers under the "social security" program? It goes directly into the treasury and is used for "normal" government expenditures like the Vietnam war. This happens because the OASI "surplus" is spent on government bonds, and the money the government receives from selling bonds to OASI is used for federal expenses no differently from the sale of any other bonds.

The OASI "hoard," in other words, is federal bonds. The cash collected from workers has gone to the government. In fact, "social security" accounts for 18 percent of federal taxes.

No new social security taxes were needed to cover the new benefits, such as they were. The government is already taking in more than it pays out in benefits. The new "social security" tax will go right into general funds. The whole thing is a slick way to raise taxes to pay for the war.

In addition to being an indirect form of taxation, social security is also a regressive tax. That is, it hits lower wages harder. At current rates, a married man with four children earning \$5,000 a year pays a tax equivalent to 3.9 percent of his gross income. A bachelor earning \$50,000 a year would pay only 0.5 percent.

If President Johnson had asked the American people for higher taxes to pay for the Vietnam war, with the poorer workers hit the hardest, the chances are he would not have gotten very far.

But the 1967 social security bill accomplishes exactly the same thing. The difference is it has a cynical cover of providing help to the aged.

Does your local library have a subscription to THE MILITANT? If not, why not suggest that they obtain one. Librarians are often pleased to have patrons call their attention to publications that they should have available.

War Crimes Tribunal Evidence

The Massacre at Dai-Lai

The International War Crimes Tribunal, which met at Roskilde, near Copenhagen, from Nov. 20 to Dec. 1, examined immense quantities of evidence of the monstrous war crimes committed by the United States government in its war against the people of Vietnam.

One of the most shocking of the reports submitted to the tribunal by the numerous teams of competent investigators was that of Gérard Chaliand, a well-known French intellectual.

Chaliand was in North Vietnam early in November as an observer for the tribunal. He describes in his report the destruction of the village of Dai-Lai by American planes:

"I arrived in the province of Thai-Binh on the third of November 1967 . . . The bombing of Dai-Lai had taken place on the day before, and at my request the local authorities conducted me to the locality, 40 hours after the bombing, on the dawn of the fourth of November.

No Military Targets

"It must be pointed out that the province of Thai-Binh, in relation to the country as a whole, is a zone comparatively seldom bombed — to the extent that the objectives which could be classified as strategic are extremely few. In fact the province is exclusively agricultural. . . .

"Nevertheless, the American air forces have attacked the province 230 times from 1965 to the end of 1966, and, again according to the local authorities, 491 times in 1967, up to the end of the month of October. Its capital, which was bombed in 1966, is almost totally destroyed, as I was able to confirm. The dikes, which are of vital importance in the Delta . . . have been attacked 40 times. . . .

"I will add that during the five weeks which I spent in North Vietnam, from the 6th of October to the 10th of November . . . Dai-Lai is the third village bombing that I have been able personally

to confirm. . . . Thus the case of Dai-Lai is not an isolated incident." Chaliand describes the village itself, demonstrating that the bombing was aimed purely at terrorizing the civilian population, and had no military rationale:

"There is no strategic objective of any kind near the village of Dai-Lai. It is situated between two arms of water, at about one kilometer from the provincial road, five kilometers from the nearest bridge, in a flat countryside of canals, rice fields and ponds. I did not see a single Anti-Aircraft Defense Unit in the area.

"There were two American airplanes. It was very light. It could not be argued that there had been a technical fault, that the bombs had been dumped in order to lighten a damaged plane which was trying to avoid coming down in Vietnamese territory.

Ashes Still Hot

"We visited the village in the early hours of the morning. In some places the ashes were still hot. Men and women were busy clearing away the debris. The planes had released chains of incendiary and explosive bombs. The witnesses agreed that they had heard about 15 explosions. That was at 13 hours on the second of November.

"There were 51 deaths and 39 wounded. There were 255 inhabitants in the village of Dai-Lai.

"Out of a total of 41 homes, 34 families had their houses razed to the ground or destroyed. We could count on one hand the number of houses left standing.

"Men were weeping quietly. A young woman squatted, supported by two elderly women, and wailed loudly. Another woman was weeping as she swept debris from the floor of a house which was no longer there. She burst into sobs as we went past, saying: 'He couldn't escape because of the heat, and I could see his arms reach out of the flames!'"

"Out of a total of 51 victims,

39 were under the age of 15."

The investigator took testimony from the villagers, Bui Thi Tinh, a 22-year-old girl who is vice-president of the Administrative Committee of the village, conducted the work of identifying the bodies. She told Chaliand:

"I was one kilometer away from the village . . . I saw two planes, one flying lower than the other. The one flying low dropped its bombs first. . . . I could count 16 bombs exploding in a chain. Huge flames shot up to the tree tops. They dropped the bombs and left. It all happened very quickly. Then the militia rushed forward and the people came with buckets, ropes and shovels. They tried to put the fire out — they fetched water from the pools and formed a chain. They made a passage right through the fire to get to the trenches. Some of them used shovels to dig people out of caved-in trenches.

"A blast of wind stirred up the flames. Some rescuers were burnt to death. . . . The family of a co-worker called Roan had four children down in the trench of their house. Halfway there Roan was torn into four pieces by bomb explosions, as he ran to save his children."

Rescue Work

The young village leader helped to organize rescue work:

"I ran forward with two other girls. I had some gauze bandages in my bag and some cotton wool which I passed out to friends, and on the way we saw a body buried under a pile of straw. We hastened to drag it out and then we realized that all there was of it was the two legs. The upper part of the body had been scattered about elsewhere.

"There was a lot of flame and very thick smoke. You could not see five yards in front of you. It was very hot. . . . There was blood and corpses on the threshing floor. Meanwhile they carried bodies on stretchers. . . .

"Roan's wife tried to jump into the flames to save her children. She had just seen her husband blown to bits before her very eyes. When we tried to restrain her she tore her clothes like a madwoman; she fell upon me and cried, 'Take me into the fire.' I said to her: 'If you love me then you must come with me.' Then she said: 'Why do you want me to come, and whom will I live with, they are all dead.' . . .

"I saw the five children of the Ru family, all killed in the same trench along with their mother; they were among the first to be pulled out. The Nguu family: the husband and wife were in the field; they have one child left who was not in the village, the other four are dead: three in the trench and the oldest — they only found his trunk and his left leg. . . .

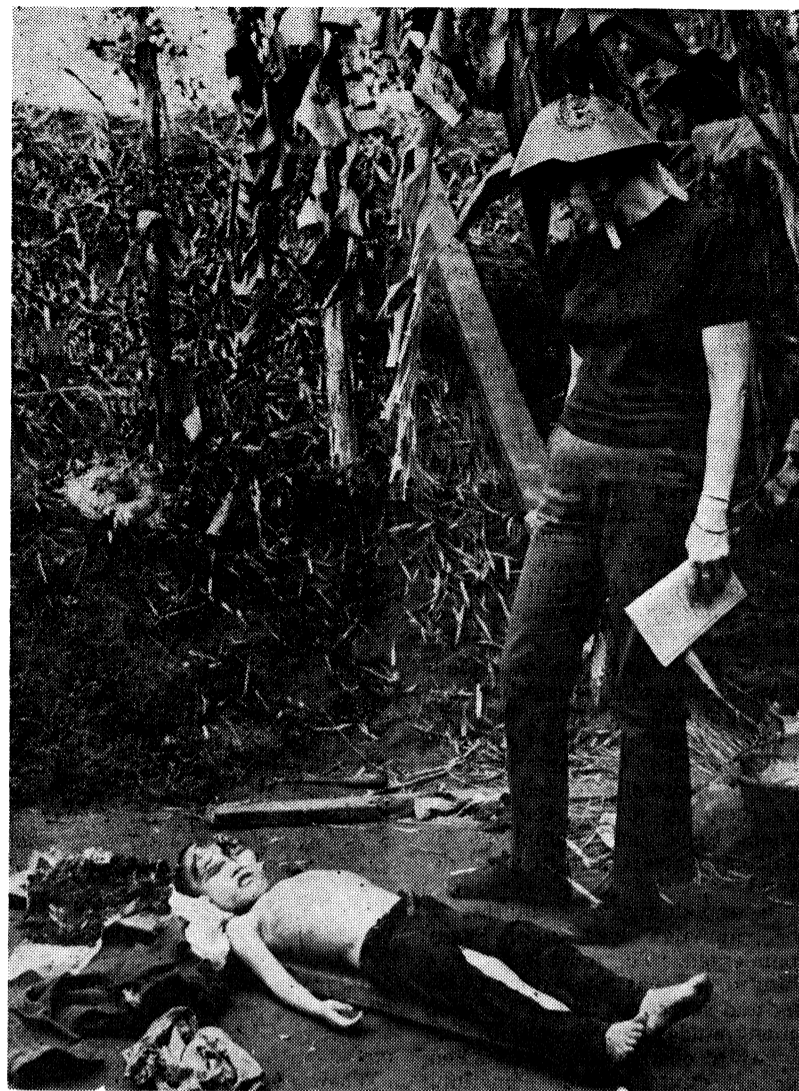
Out in Field

"The entire family of the co-worker Khoi was killed — he was out in the field alone; his two children, his wife who was eight months pregnant; his mother's corpse was flung up into the branches of a jacquier tree and the blood trickled down the trunk to the roots of the tree."

A horrible sight confronted those who tried to identify their dead relatives. Bui Thi Tinh continues:

"I saw sights which turned my stomach: there were burnt bodies which were nothing but skin stretched over bones and entrails running out of burst bellies. They no longer had a human shape. We collected parts of bodies, arms, legs; sometimes we could make out that it was a woman because there were tufts of hair. While I registered the names of the dead, others wrote their names or presumed age in chalk on little placards to be placed on the graves.

"There were bodies which could



WAR CRIME INVESTIGATOR. Mrs. Gisele Halimi, advocate to the Paris Court of Appeals and member of the Law Committee of the International War Crimes Tribunal, witnesses horrors of U.S. attack on North Vietnam. Nguyen Thi Oanh, six years old, had her skull broken by a U.S. shell fired at her village by the Seventh Fleet.

not be identified, but they estimated the age by the size of the foot, and wrote 'Child, five or ten years old, no name' on the coffin.

"I saw, among these shreds, a heap of flesh which they reckoned to be a 15-year-old girl, because of the cluster of hair and her neck. It was horrible to see, in the midst of this mass of flesh, a thigh still plump and brown."

Tran Thi Sai, a 38-year-old peasant woman told Chaliand:

"My second child, a boy, was able to escape out of the fire. His little brother of five followed him but he could not run fast enough and was burnt in the yard. And my mother fled carrying my youngest child, 12 months, but they were burnt alive at the door.

Husband Killed

"My 10-year-old daughter was out watching the cooperative's buffalo, and she I still have now. My husband was the head of a group of workers — he was in the village at the threshing floor of the cooperative. He was pulling the stone roller to husk the rice. At the time of the bombing he stayed outside the shelter till the last minute to get the others back in, and he was killed. The bomb explosions opened his head."

Bui Van Nguu, 46, a peasant, related:

"I was at home making brooms for the cooperative. Over in my kitchen there was a grinding mortar. There my two daughters were pounding meal and their two little brothers were with them, having fun. . . . The house . . . collapsed and caught fire. . . .

"I rummaged in the debris looking for my children. I found mangled limbs, shreds of flesh; I only found three bodies by collecting fragments and a leg. I couldn't find the body of my big girl. It was only yesterday that I found her body — it had been thrown into a garden seven yards away. Her body was buried under a pile of ashes. . . . At first I thought it was someone else, but I looked and realized that it was really her ear — She was 13 years old."

Hoang Ban, a peasant, 44, testified:

"I saw my sister-in-law also coming from the fields carrying

in her arms her two-year-old child, its head burst open. She called to me to come and help her children. . . . The house had not been burnt, it had exploded, and both the roof and the walls had gone.

"I ran to the house's trench, under the bed; and over the hole was a cover. At the edge of the hole there lay half of the body of a little girl of two, my niece. . . . I pulled out one of my nieces, 10 years old, with her head burst open by the fragments of the cover. . . .

"Six children are dead. As for my brother, only remains of him were found. In the kitchen they found his two arms; his two legs were caught on the bamboo wall; they also found his ribs, but not his head.

"Only his wife is left; it is as though she were insane. She is at my home at present. She screams and cries and no one can speak to her."

The Dai-Lai massacre was also reported by Sven Oste, a Swedish journalist, in the Nov. 5 issue of *Dagens Nyheter*, a liberal daily newspaper of Stockholm. The full text of Chaliand's report appeared in the Dec. 15 issue of *World Outlook*.

The Resistance Members Being Reclassified

WASHINGTON — According to the *Liberation News Service*, at least 50 members of The Resistance in five different cities have reported their draft reclassification to I-A (subject to induction) status. Numerous others have received delinquency notices or have been interrogated by the FBI.

Two of the reclassified members of the New York Resistance were previously classified as conscientious objectors. One Queens College student, not a participant in The Resistance, was classified I-A after he told his draft board that he had participated in the Oct. 21 March on Washington.

Some 25 Boston residents have been reclassified. Sixteen of these are contesting this in the courts.

GIs in South Vietnam Show Antiwar Feeling

[The following letter appeared in the Dec. 13 New York Times.]

Recent news articles have suggested that men returning to civilian life from the armed forces will form a prowar element in the coming national elections. As two individuals who have recently been discharged from the Army, we offer a rebuttal to such predictions.

We are both physicians. One of us spent a year in Vietnam with the Army. As physicians we had a unique opportunity to talk with many soldiers from all ranks and organizations (and not just patients) in a setting which pre-empted the usual restrictions against open, free discussion among military personnel. (In effect, soldier-physicians are "safe" people for other soldiers to complain to.) These conversations made it clear to us that there is a significant number of men in the Army who are very much against the Vietnam war.

Reasons given in explanation of this opposition fell into two broad categories. First, those with experience in Vietnam felt that the U.S. had almost no support from the local populace. Incidents were reported of gross corruption among local South Vietnamese politicians and false "battles" claimed by South Vietnamese Army units. In general, the feeling was that the war is exclusively an American war and that it can only be won by Americans in the face of the

apathy, at best, of the South Vietnamese themselves.

The second reason given by many soldiers was that the administration, and the army hierarchy in particular, were manifesting more and more hypocrisy in an attempt to justify the American position in Vietnam. Casualty reports usually giving the ratio of enemy dead to American dead as ten to one were greeted with knowing smiles.

Enlisted men spoke of the frantic efforts by commanders to maintain the image of an American Army motivated by the righteousness of its cause in the face of obvious, if muted, disillusionment.

And most apparent was a general feeling of anxiety among troops at all levels, manifested by a reluctance to make decisions and take responsibility for such things as AWOL rates, minor deficiencies in discipline and questionable procedures in evaluating training exercises.

It is our distinct impression that official news stories (which must be cleared by military information officers) fail to reflect the feelings of a significant number of men in the armed forces who, far from being "hawks," are becoming increasingly opposed, as a result of their military experience, to the direction and extent of the Vietnam war.

John W. Rosenberger, M.D.,
New York
Arthur S. Blank Jr., M.D.
New Haven

Discussion in the Antiwar Movement

By Barry Sheppard

Opposition to the war in Vietnam continues to grow. As more and more Americans come to realize that the war is wrong and U.S. soldiers are dying for no worthwhile objective, the antiwar movement's potential for reaching and mobilizing wider and wider sections of the population is increasing.

While its opportunities are improving, however, the antiwar movement is being subjected to pressures and strains that threaten it. The greatest pressure for breaking up the unity of the movement comes from the right wing of the old "peace movement," generally from groups and individuals like the section of the leadership of SANE that has never supported the coalition of groups making up the anti-Vietnam-war movement. As we enter the election year, there will be increasing pressure from these sources for the movement to give up its independent character, and for those opposed to the war to divert their energies into one of the two capitalist parties through the device of a "peace candidate."

Take It off Streets

In this way, the ruling class would be able to absorb antiwar sentiment, take it off the streets and contain it within the safe channels of the Democratic and Republican parties. This was the goal openly expressed by Eugene McCarthy when he announced his candidacy. He said that one of his aims in running in the primaries is to provide an "alternative" to antiwar street actions and "irregular political movements."

The immediate target of this pressure is the coalition of the many groups and individuals, who have united around the organization of mass street actions and other militant activities against the war. The right wing of the old "peace movement" — and the capitalist politicians — hope to split off the more moderate groups from the coalition, thereby placing a damper on antiwar actions.

While this attack on the coalition as a whole is mounting from the right, the student wing of the antiwar movement faces an attack from another source, the ultra-left. This has been reflected in the debates centered around the October 21 demonstration, the Oakland antidraft demonstration, and the Stop the Draft Week, especially in New York.

Spearhead

The student wing of the movement has been its key section from the beginning. It has been the students who have spearheaded the development of the movement, pulling other sections into active opposition, and who have been its most militant activists.

The student antiwar coalition has been strengthened in New York and elsewhere as a result of the recent student actions, where many groups worked together for the first time.

Rubin, Halstead In N.Y. Debate

NEW YORK — Jerry Rubin, former leader of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee and antiwar activist, will debate Fred Halstead, antiwar activist and Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, here on Friday, Dec. 29. The topic of the debate will be "What Policy for the Antiwar Movement?"

The moderator will be Linda Morse, executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee. The debate will begin at 8:30 p.m. at 873 Broadway, near 18th St. It is sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum.

In the New York Stop the Draft Week Committee, for example, groups like The Resistance, the Student Mobilization Committee, the campus antiwar committees, local chapters of Students for a Democratic Society, the Young Socialist Alliance, the DuBois Clubs, and others, got together for the first time to organize the recent antidraft demonstrations at the Whitehall induction center. This was the key element in bringing out a large number of demonstrators, and represents an important gain for the movement.

Before, during and after the Whitehall demonstrations, sharp differences were expressed by the various groups and individuals involved in organizing the action. This discussion is a necessary part of learning to work together and its conclusions will undoubtedly be an important aspect of the national conference being called by the Student Mobilization Committee for Jan. 27-29, to which all students and youth opposed to the war are invited.

Splitters

However, one section of the Stop the Draft Week coalition, composed of various ultra-leftist groups and individuals, is attempting to play upon the differences to break up the student coalition.

In the latest issue of *Workers World*, for example, Joel Meyers of Youth Against War and Fascism writes a lengthy article on Stop the Draft Week, attacking its leadership, i.e., the representatives on the steering committee of the principal groups that organized the demonstration. Meyers castigates the leadership for "caving in" on the character of the demonstration and restricting its militancy.

Myers still claims — after the demonstrations — that it would have been possible to close down the Whitehall induction center if only the leadership hadn't restricted the use of "mobile tactics." "The Whitehall district would be so paralyzed by the tactic, that it would be shut, in spite of the overwhelming power of the police," he maintains.

YSA Bugs Him

Meyers is especially angry at the Young Socialist Alliance. The YSA had argued against the projection of "closing down Whitehall" as the announced objective of the demonstrations, although it was overruled by a majority of the other groups in the coalition.

The arguments the YSA put forward were that declaring the objective of the demonstration to be the closing down of Whitehall would play into the hands of the police and city administration by giving the appearance of "illegality," needlessly giving the cops an excuse to suppress the demonstration with force and violence. Such an objective could not be attained with the given relationship of forces, and this could lead to frustration.

It would be better, the YSA and others argued, to announce a realistic objective, like massing at the induction center to talk to draftees. The demonstration should be designed to appeal to draftees, GIs, parents, and all who are concerned about the war, with leaflets explaining such slogans as "Free the Draftees," "Bring Our Men Home Now," and "Abolish the Draft."

Behind this discussion on tactics, however, lies a more fundamental question, reflected in the discussion over the slogan "From dissent to resistance." This is interpreted in various ways. If what is meant by "dissent" is merely verbal criticism of LBJ's policies without action, then the antiwar movement left "dissent" clear back with the 1965 SDS March on Washington.



SCENE AT WHITEHALL INDUCTION CENTER. Police massed to prevent demonstration in front of induction center.

But the slogan is often interpreted to mean that the most militant section of the antiwar movement — the students — should turn away from the job of convincing and mobilizing large numbers of people against the war, including other students, and instead attempt by itself to stop, or at least physically impede, the war machine.

This concept is especially foolish and dangerous. It may be possible to physically force a recruiter from Dow or the CIA off the campus, but that in no way implies that the same thing can be done by the militant students acting alone in the society as a whole. The imperialist government is ready to bring its armed power to bear to ensure the smooth functioning of its war machine, and only a comparable counterpower, a movement of the vast masses of workers and GIs and Afro-Americans, could succeed against it in direct physical confrontation.

Political Confrontation

However, the political confrontation that the antiwar movement has succeeded in creating is already impeding the imperialist war effort. The government has been unable to use the war issue to stop strikes, urban rebellions, or to demand extreme sacrifices of the people to carry the war out.

It's in this context that we have to look at such slogans as "close down Whitehall" in the specific situation the demonstration faced. No special or tricky "tactic," mobile or otherwise, is going to enable the militant students alone to defeat the police — and it must be remembered that in back of the police stand the national guard and the army.

Since the objective of physically impeding the war machine cannot be attained by the militant students acting alone, the actions of those who attempt to do so tend to become merely glorified acts of frustration or self-indulgence, of minor disruptions of city life that involve the danger of alienating the population as a whole from the antiwar movement. Even in Oakland, the students did not actually impede the war machine to any measureable degree by obstructing that one draft board for a few hours.

Those who foster the illusion that the militant students can themselves physically impede the war machine or defeat the armed forces at the disposal of the government in battle, do the movement a great harm. Such was the case

with a recent frivolous article in the *National Guardian*, urging demonstrators to wear a battle outfit complete with crash helmet and shields. Some who took their advice seriously came to the Nov. 14 Rusk demonstration in New York so dressed, and became special targets of the police, who beat them unmercifully when they got their hands on them.

It's that kind of talk by the *National Guardian*, or the bull-headed insistence by *Workers World*, even after the events of Stop the Draft Week, that some change in tactics would have "kept the police in the dark" and enabled the students to defeat the police and shut down the center, that is a danger to the student wing of the movement at the present time.

Common Attack

A common thread in all the ultra-left attacks on the student coalition is disdain for building a mass antiwar movement. This was reflected in an article by Jerry Rubin, an antiwar activist from Berkeley, on Stop the Draft Week, printed in the *East Village Other* of Dec. 15-30. Rubin attacks the leadership of the action and sings high praise of the "mobile tactic." He is especially annoyed by the role of the Socialist Workers Party and the YSA, charging "their influence is incredibly conservative. Their theory: Revolution Later. They say we all have to relate our actions to a 'political' goal, which is another way of saying that we have to make our actions 'respectable' for working and middle class America."

In his snide way, Rubin put his finger on an essential point. The SWP and YSA are concerned about reaching and mobilizing the masses of American people into active opposition to the war. Because that's where the real power lies that can stop the war. And it is the job of the antiwar movement to reach out and organize them.

Ultra-lefts Help Right

If the ultra-leftists have their way and succeed in splitting the student antiwar coalition, they will have dealt a blow to the antiwar movement as a whole by damaging its most militant wing. The right wing of the old "peace movement," ironically enough, would be the chief benefactors in that case, with the ultra-left having done their dirty work for them.

What the ultra-leftists would accomplish is to lead a section of the students into a series of adventures that could only end in

defeats, demoralizing these militants. By weakening the coalition, the consistent antiwar work that only the coalition can organize would be disrupted. The mass of Americans opposed to the war, including the majority of students, would see no alternative to placing their energies and hopes in another capitalist "peace candidate" swindle, and they would fall easy prey to the right wing.

Both the right and the ultra-left pressures on the movement stem from the same desire to find an "easy" path to end the war. The ultra-leftists think they can find a short-cut through militant action by a small group. On the right there is the vain hope that some capitalist politician can be found who will use his position of power to quickly end the war. Before 1968 runs its course, we may see some of the ultra-lefts becoming ardent supporters of the "lesser evil" capitalist candidate.

Consistent Work

But the real job before the antiwar movement is not to search for shortcuts for ending the war, but to take advantage of the very real possibilities to reach out and continue to build an ever more massive opposition to the war independent of the war makers and their politicians. The student coalition has a big job before it of organizing the many new students entering the campuses and becoming opposed to the war, and of continuing to be the spearhead of the whole movement, leading it in the difficult but necessary work of reaching the Afro-Americans, the workers, the GIs, the draftees and their parents — and forging the mass power that will be able to stop the warmakers.

New Victory For Civil Liberties

A victory for civil liberties was won on Dec. 11, when the Supreme Court ruled against another section of the Subversive Activities Control Act.

The court ruled in favor of defendant Eugene Frank Robel and found that membership in the Communist Party is insufficient reason to bar a person from employment in a "defense facility."

The court action brought to an end over five years of litigation, begun when the Justice Department moved to bar Robel from the Todd Shipyards Corp. in Seattle, where he was employed.

REVIEWS and REPORTS

BLACK AND WHITE by William Brink and Louis Harris. Simon and Schuster, 1967, 285 pp., \$5.95 cloth, \$1.95 paper.

This book, by the senior editor of *Newsweek* and the head of the well-known polling organization, is based on a survey of racial attitudes in the United States in the summer of 1966, which was originally presented with less detail in the Aug. 22, 1966 issue of *Newsweek*. Three years ago the authors wrote *The Negro Revolution in America*, based on a similar study made for and printed in *Newsweek* in 1963. Its main interest lies in the change in attitudes, among both blacks and whites, during the three years separating the two polls.

When I read the magazine article last year, I was struck by one figure. It stated that 17 percent of the black people polled had said they were in favor of "dumping the Democratic Party and going it alone in all-black political organizations."

Seventeen percent of the black people is a rather large number; it must represent around two million adults, plus some hundreds of thousands in their late teens. It seemed so significant that I cited the *Newsweek* figure and quotation in an article last winter called "In Defense of Black Power." (*International Socialist Review*, Jan.-Feb.)

Wanting to get more details, the first thing I turned to in the present book was the chapter on "The Negro and Politics." On page 91 I found this statement: "But the Negroes have no thought of trying to form their own party; most are committed to working through the two major political parties."

No thought? "Come on now," I said. "It's all right to say, on the

basis of your figures, that a majority of blacks are not thinking about trying to form their own party. But when you say 'no thought,' you are discounting 17 percent, which may be a minority, but is not an insignificant minority."

One paragraph later was a table, "How Negroes Should Operate in Politics," and that disturbed me even more, because it showed only 7 percent, not 17, saying that blacks should operate "mainly as a separate group." Nowhere in the book is the statement about "dumping the Democratic Party," etc.

So I wrote to Brink and asked how come. He said he had re-examined the statistics, and the 7 percent figure was correct. "I don't really know what went wrong back in 1966," he added, "but the obvious conclusion is that the 17 percent figure . . . must have been a typographical error." Then I wrote Harris, and his secretary told me the 17 percent figure was a typographical error.

I apologize to anyone I misled by publicizing the erroneous figure. If the new figure of 7 percent accurately reflects the thinking of black people, then only around a million adults and young people in their late teens last year were in favor of breaking with the capitalist parties and engaging in independent political action.

But I think that the point I was trying to make remains valid. That is, that there already exists a substantial base for the launching of an independent black political party—a base big enough to start and sustain a party until its present supporters can carry through the job of educating and winning the support of a majority of black Americans.

—George Breitman

Black Liberation Notes

U.S. complicity with South Africa was thoroughly exposed in a panel discussion held recently at Tuskegee Institute. Edward Clark, the State Department's Director of Southern African Affairs, was booed by the audience of 450 students when he was unable to refute the arguments of the other two panel members — James Forman of SNCC and Gladstone Ntlati, a South African revolutionary.

According to the Dec. 2-3 *Southern Courier*, Clark was forced to admit that U.S. business has invested a "considerable amount" in South Africa. But he insisted that such investments could not be prevented by the U.S. government.

"We don't have any investments in Cuba," Forman answered. "We don't have any investments in China. Don't let anybody tell you we can't stop investments in South Africa."

When Forman charged the U.S. government with operating a "lily-white" embassy in South Africa, Clark lamely explained, "As long as we have diplomatic relations we have to abide by the controls one finds in the country where you are."

"I still think that the hope of the U.S. government is there will be a peaceful solution," said Clark. "As a matter of policy we couldn't support violence."

"What about Vietnam?" replied Forman.

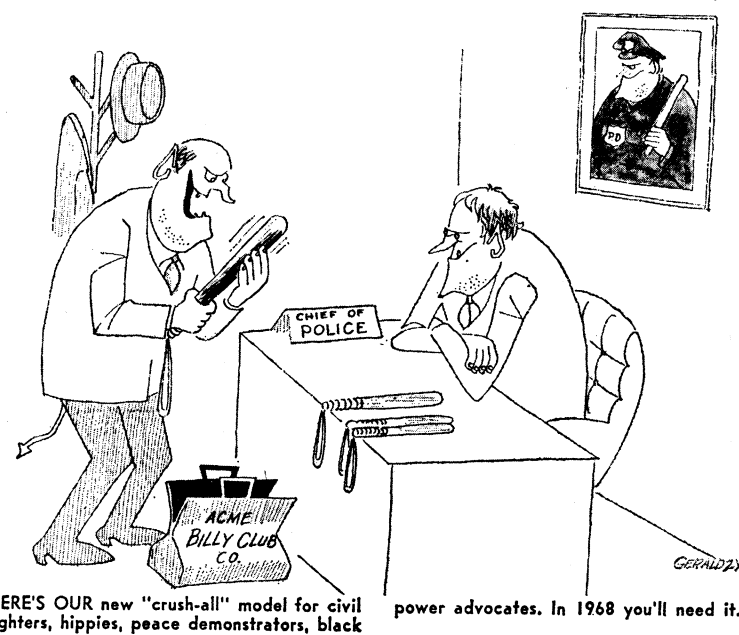
"We're not talking about Vietnam," Clark said.

Several people in the audience asked what the position of the U.S. would be if revolution broke out in South Africa. His answer was, "I don't think any responsible government can answer a hypothetical question. You must know the issues at that particular time."

Gladstone Ntlati replied, "The issues are very clear. The problem [the U.S.] is hoping will be solved peacefully is being solved ruthlessly by our government . . .

MUHAMMAD SPEAKS

DECEMBER 8, 1967



There is no peace for us. We are dying."

Black people in Chicago are rallying to the defense of Owen Lawson, a high school teacher who was fired recently for being, as he puts it, "a black teacher, in a black school, teaching black children black pride."

"Although the white principal who fired him claims it was for 'administrative incompetence,' Lawson says that the principal charged him with using '95 percent of my class time for teaching Afro-American history.'"

"Van Dam [the principal] would be hard pressed to prove this point," Lawson says, "because he never observed my class or sent observers."

Stokely Carmichael is back. He had no more than put his feet on the ground at Kennedy airport

when he was greeted with two government moves against him: 1) Removal of his passport, and 2) Preparation of a bill that would make it a crime for U.S. citizens to travel abroad to whatever countries are ruled off limits by the State Department.

Off and on since 1958 the government has been trying to get Congress to pass a bill making it a crime to break the State Department's travel bans, but the blatant unconstitutionality of such a measure has caused Congress to lay it aside, at least until now.

Billy clubs are still the "single most effective weapons now in the hands of police," according to the Institute for Defense Analysis, which has just completed a study of nonlethal (sic) police weapons.

Correction: There was an error in an item carried in this column several weeks ago on the student rebellion at Grambling College. The item said, "Grambling is well known as the nation's top source of professional football players, and this is part of the reason for the protest."

While it is true that overemphasis on athletics was one of the main issues behind the protest, Grambling is not the nation's top source of professional football players. But Grambling is one of the top source of black professional players. Just one of the outstanding Grambling teams alone (in 1961) produced 15 players for the American and National Football Leagues.

More information has come in on the Grambling revolt. It started when a group of students began passing out leaflets on campus in opposition to administration policies. To avoid reprisals, they did not put their names on the leaflets, but simply signed them, "the informers."

One of the leaflets contained a list of questions including the following: "Is it true that Grambling has not really progressed past the Elevated High School? . . . Is it true that the administrators consider a well-dressed 1.5 [barely passing] student to be more vital to the academic community than a bearded sockless honor student? . . . Is it true that the recently issued yearbook could better be described as a hard-back issue of *Sports Illustrated*?"

This particular leaflet did the most to spark the series of mass boycotts, rallies and demonstrations which were successful in involving a majority of the students. As the protest progressed and it came to light who the "informers" were, they were expelled. In response, the students organized a mass resignation from school.

—Elizabeth Barnes

... Meany Joins Johnson's Big Lie Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

tail that the Oct. 21 demonstration was conceived and planned in public meetings in Washington, D.C. Johnson is simply consciously attempting to lay the basis for a hysteria against opponents of the war.

Meany succeeded in creating a heavy atmosphere of intimidation at the AFL-CIO convention — which is not too hard to do among

the well-paid-off bureaucrats who braved the winter rigors of Bal Harbour, Fla., to attend.

During the Vietnam debate, Charles Cogen, president of the American Federation of Teachers, offered a proposal that the AFL-CIO take no position on the war. Leon Davis, president of the New York City Drug and Hospital Local 1199, made a speech against the war, in support of Cogen's resolution. But it was turned down and the Meany position was upheld by a standing vote. Only a handful of the 1,200 delegates had the nerve to stand up and vote against Meany.

Bureaucrat Boasts

In the course of the discussion, Thomas W. Gleason, a major stockholder in containerized cargo companies and president of the International Longshoremen's Association, boasted, according to the Dec. 13 *Washington Post*, that some of his followers had "beat up young war protesters" at the New York antidraft demonstrations early this month. The atmosphere of the convention was such that no voice was raised on the floor to object to this crude violation of the right to picket.

New York Post columnist James Wechsler commented: "In a truly equitable world, District Attorney Hogan would feel called upon to ask Mr. Gleason to identify his joyous sluggers and the city's labor movement would rise up in anger against Gleason's glory. That would really be the day, but I doubt that it is imminent. In the interim one can only urge

those thoughtful laborites who suffered Gleason's primitivism in silence to raise their voices now, if only for the record of history."

The name of the American labor movement has been defiled to a record low by last week's show in Bal Harbour, but there is a great deal of difference between George Meany and his Bal Harbour bunch, and the mass of American workers. And it is common knowledge that the labor bureaucrats are in trouble with their political dependence on the Democratic Party. As the Dec. 13 *Wall Street Journal* reports: "Labor's political strategists, fearing that rank-and-filers may stray from Lyndon Johnson and the Democrats in 1968, are working up a 'scare' campaign to keep union voters in line. They aim to divert the members' attention from such divisive issues as Vietnam, racial unrest, inflation and



Meany

taxes by raising the specter of a direct threat to their union's power . . . the theme that a Republican presidential victory and further GOP gains in Congress would bring legislation to outlaw industry-wide bargaining, put unions under anti-trust laws or otherwise weaken the muscle of organized labor."

The truth is that anti-union legislation is in the cards under either a Democratic or Republican administration, and the war will be the chief excuse for these anti-union moves.

'Heroin' in Vietnam Is Just Plain Soap

Remember those reports that National Liberation Front soldiers in Vietnam were found carrying packets of heroin, and all the juicy items about how "communist" troops were doped up before they were sent into battle? A Dec. 16 dispatch to the *New York Times* from Saigon made a small correction:

The "packets of white powder" found on the battlefield were discovered to contain "potassium permanganate, a disinfectant and fungicide; copper sulphate used as a fungicide; calcium hydrate, used as a water purifier; antibiotics, and ordinary soap."

The *Times* also commented, "There have been numerous reports of enemy soldiers using drugs, but, so far as could be determined, none of these reports has ever been confirmed."

Prepublication Offer

CHE GUEVARA'S Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War

This 280-page book will appear in a cloth-bound edition. It will sell for \$6.95 after its official publication date, Feb. 5. It is being offered now to *Militant* readers, for shipment after Xmas, at the special low price of \$5.00. Payment should accompany orders.

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Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Those Longshoremen...

New York, N.Y.
After participating in "Stop the Draft Week," I figured that at least two lessons had to be drawn by everyone involved. The first lesson was that the cops (for those who didn't know beforehand) work for the wrong side. And, two, that the friendly response from the workers along our march route showed the strength of antiwar feelings among the American working class and the possibility of organizing those feelings into the movement.

However, in an article in the Dec. 13 *Village Voice*, one of the demonstrator/reporters seems to have missed these important lessons completely. Her anti-working-class feelings are so deep that I almost chuckled down the paper and walked away in disgust. Here is a quote:

"...as though the spectacle of all those children of the middle class caged into police pens or dodging police horses as they ran

through the streets unleashed some vein of righteous proletarian fury in the cops. One young man, watching the police stand aside while longshoremen beat up demonstrators in Battery Park on Thursday morning, saw a policeman pick up a bailing hook and hand it back to the longshoreman who had dropped it. 'It suddenly occurred to me,' he said later, 'that the cops are really longshoremen in uniform.'"

No — the opposite is true. Those particular longshoremen happened to be like cops in longshoremen's garb. Confusing the two is not only stupid in an article, but could be disastrous in mapping out plans for building a more massive antiwar movement including those workers we passed as we marched.

Just because our generation hasn't seen massive, militant working-class actions doesn't mean they can't occur. History is filled with examples. When and if the antiwar movement can include the working class, those few cop-longshoremen won't stand a chance.

In fact, they probably wouldn't even show up. So, let's get it straight, the cops (as an arm of the ruling class) are anti-proletarian to the bone. The working class is anti-cop to the core — and, it shares the same interests as the antiwar movement.

Melissa Singler

Huey Newton

Oakland, Calif.
I was very disappointed with the incompleteness of your article on Huey Newton in the November 27th issue of *The Militant*. You neglected to tell your readers that Mr. Newton is charged with the murder of the police officer killed on October 18.

Before most people will contribute to someone's defense, they want to know why that someone is being defended.

Please let your readers know the whole story so that they can be of help in getting Huey the best possible defense. He will need it because he is up against one of the most vicious and corrupt police forces in the United States.

T.W.

[The Nov. 13 *Militant* carried a front-page article on the case, which made a full report of the frame-up charge of murder that has been lodged against Newton. (See also story page 8 this issue.)

[Readers are urged to contribute to the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund, P.O. Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, Calif. 94608. EDITOR]

Killing Overplayed?

Daytona Beach, Fla.
Am fairly well satisfied with the paper. I only feel you overplay some news about your members, e.g., the killing of your members in Detroit.

R.S.

Four-Prong Attack

New York, N.Y.
We have taken to the streets to protest the draft and the war. Has the draft stopped, has the war stopped? The answer to both these questions is a resounding NO! There are some who hold, however, that "we have reached 'the people.'"

While this might be true on a small scale, it hardly justifies the endless hours of discussion, as well as all the other seemingly interminable activity that preceded the Stop the Draft campaign.

Why? The war is made by the ruling class in order to guard and increase its money-power axis. To this end they exploit workers in turning out the most socially useless of all commodities — armaments. They exploit youth on the other hand to operate this junk and kill against their wishes.

Thus far, most protest has been

made by the student milieu. Yet all their protests to stop the war have failed. This caste (they are not a "class" since they bear no relation to the means of production) has been less relevant to the war machine than is the working class which is exploited to make the military junk.

There is talk of student strikes. Which is more effective: a few thousand students who refuse to study differential calculus or a few thousand workers who refuse to turn out napalm, airplanes, guns, etc.?!?

I am not in the least for abandoning student protest for it is very valuable in that it is the most articulate and sophisticated weaponry produced yet against the war. I would however propose a new four-prong attack:

1. Draft resistance. If the army can't get masses of men to fight, it can't wage its war.

2. Education within the armed forces.

3. a. Agitation among the working class to refuse to produce for the war machine. This vast potential area to this day remains virtually untapped.

b. Agitation among Black America. The Afro-American is a sector of the working class that is super-exploited by the war as well as the capitalist system itself. They are forced to give up their lives for this war in a proportion far above the ratio of their numbers to the population of this country.

4. Changing "the system." The capitalist system in its inglorious 200-year history has shown that it needs wars to get foreign markets, cheap raw materials, and cheap labor. It is thus time for a govern-

ment by the working people that would have no need for war or exploitation.

We can take our first step by campaigning and voting for Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice President on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in '68.

Alfred Gordon

'Liberal' Logic

Berkeley, Calif.
Here is a sample of "liberal" logic:

To impose a rule on another people by the use of force is immoral and must be stopped.

But the role of the United States in the Vietnam war is to impose its will on the Vietnamese people by the use of force.

Therefore, the Vietnam war is immoral and would be stopped if only the student demonstrators against the war would exercise better manners.

B.C.

Buckley and the Ball

New York, N.Y.
In the December, 1967, issue of *Esquire* magazine, Wm. F. Buckley writes an article on "The Politics of the Capote Ball," a ball held at the Plaza Hotel on Nov. 28, 1966. This ball was attended by the "best people" money can buy.

Among them were Henry Ford II, Mrs. Joseph Kennedy, Lynda Bird Johnson, Margaret Truman, Senator Javits, John Kenneth Gal-

braith, Buckley, Mia Farrow and many others.

Two or three days later Pete Hamill, columnist of the *New York Post*, did an excellent column in which he interspersed the frivolities of the Plaza crowd and the sufferings of the Vietnamese and the American GIs in Vietnam.

Hamill's column seemed to hit Buckley where it hurts most, his pseudo-patriotism. Buckley, who has just recommended that antiwar dissenters be deported (*New York Times Magazine*, Nov. 26, 1967), attempts to answer Hamill's implied criticism of his social class, who are responsible for this war.

He states, "After all, one of the reasons why there is fighting in Vietnam is so that people can have fun back home. And besides, if Society accepted the dictum that so long as some people are suffering others may not party together there would never be any partying at all..."

There is of course a solution to this problem. If Mr. Buckley would be willing, he and the Johnsons, Fords, Trumans, Kennedys, etc., could go over and fight in Vietnam, and the American GIs could come back here and have fun together with their families. I am sure the Vietnamese people would be happier and the American troops would like it. How about it, Buckley, old sport?

Bill Martin

Thought for the Week

"An extra little present we put under the family Christmas tree this year." — LBJ on the rise in postal rates in the Dec. 17, *New York Times*.

It Was Reported in the Press

Bourgeois Style Exposed — "Defender of Morality," a letter writer to a Yugoslav magazine, demands that miniskirts be banned because they increase public health service costs and curb productivity. The health service, she said, is burdened with an increased incidence of rheumatism brought on by the added exposure, while the distraction among men leads to a drop in production. And we had thought they were a stimulant to productivity.

Another Spoilsport — The Roman Catholic bishop of Valparaiso has announced that Catholic girls who wear bikinis on Chilean beaches will not receive Holy Communion. Don't worry, girls. This department stands solidly behind you — and in front of you, and at your side. . . .

Big Little Book — Simon and Schuster is preparing publication of *Quotations from Chairman LBJ*. It will have a red, white, and blue cover with a picture of Himself in a Mao tunic. Chapter titles include: "Humble Origins of the People's Servant," "Glorious Democratic Party," "Unworthy Other Party," and "Humility and Self-Criticism" — followed by a blank page.

Promotion — It looks as though Secretary of Defense McNamara may have been kicked upstairs — his \$40,000 salary as president of the World Bank is \$5,000 more than his salary as a Cabinet member. And it's tax free, to boot.

Don't Ask Us — The Rev. James A. Keller, *Long Island Press* spiritual columnist, advises: "Consciously or not, any of us may run the risk of accumulating an abundance of material things for which we have little need. To keep properly detached, it is important that we ask ourselves: 'How much is enough?'"

View from Oklahoma — A Mrs. Naomi Smith of Midwest City, Okla., wrote to the *Oklahoma City Times*: "We dearly love Uncle Sam, but his image has changed so. He now has a boarding house reach and a long, snoopy nose."

Keeper of the Morals — King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, whose oil royalties provide gold-plated cars, is conducting a drive to bolster the country's allegedly waning morality. Papers admonish women: "Don't expose your flesh as a butcher displays meat." Recently the good king also said Saudi slavery should be abolished, with all deliberate speed, of course.

Our Image — La Gadgetière, a Parisian shop featuring U.S.-style

gadgets, is doing a brisk business. A popular novelty item is toilet paper with dollar bills imprinted on it.

For Last-Minute Shoppers — If you haven't been able to find a gift for the woman in your life, don't panic. Our shopping service has found just the thing — a make-up case "handmade in Italy of the finest black baby alligator, lined in hand-quilted calfskin and filled to the hilt . . . with a sybaritic selection of Skin-Care Concentrates, Perfume Oil, Lip Makeups, Eye Makeups, plus a dazzling sunburst compact." "Overwhelming, isn't it?" asks the advertiser. We'll say it is — at a mere \$1,200.

—Harry Ring

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UAW Settles Contract With General Motors

By Frank Lovell

DETROIT, Dec. 16 — The third and final lap of the marathon negotiations between the auto corporations and the United Auto Workers ended on schedule Dec. 14. UAW President Walter Reuther and General Motors chief negotiator Louis Seaton jointly announced, "after 30 hours of round-the-clock negotiations," that agreement on a three-year contract had been reached, covering 372,000 GM workers.

At each stage of the negotiations with Ford, Chrysler and now GM, UAW President Walter Reuther emerged from round-the-clock deadline negotiations conducted under cover of a news blackout to announce "the largest economic pact . . . in the history of collective bargaining."

The wage settlement at General Motors conformed to the pattern set at Ford and Chrysler. Thus the basic wage pattern for the auto workers for the next three years is signed, sealed and delivered.

By 1970 the average production worker will earn \$3.75 an hour, skilled workers will make an average \$4.85. The profit-bloated auto corporations succeeded in fixing strict limits on the cost-of-living allowance, or "escalator clause," cutting into union protection against the price inflation that is expected to reduce the worker's real wages.

Under terms of the GM settlement, retroactive wage increases will be paid from Oct. 16, a date previously agreed upon in the Chrysler pact.

The big issue at GM is working conditions and erosion of union jurisdiction and power at the point of production. In recent years management has arrogated to itself the right to make all decisions on work assignments and job classifications, and in this way has eliminated thousands of workers from the bargaining unit. This device has reduced the numerical strength of the UAW and undermined its bargaining power.

The abuses have been most flagrant in GM plants where UAW shop committeemen have never been accorded the same recognition as in Ford and Chrysler plants.

Union President Reuther calls the new GM contract a "historic improvement" for union committeemen, recognizing them as full-time union representatives.

Company spokesman Seaton says GM will now provide offices for union committeemen and will provide a written statement of the reasons for discipline against workers. However, he stressed that, under the no-strike provisions of the contract, workers are still prohibited from legally striking for reasons of health and safety.

Both union and company expressed the hope that the national agreement would bring an early settlement of all local grievances in the GM plants. Local issues remain unresolved in 119 of the 134 GM plants, where there are 175,000 grievances pending.

The UAW international executive board will meet Dec. 18 to recommend ratification of the national GM contract as the basis for settlement of all outstanding grievances.

What the auto workers think of the basic settlement handed them in the course of these protracted negotiations was clearly indicated this week by union elections in the Tool and Die Unit of the Ford Rouge plant here. This is one of the key units of UAW Local 600. An opposition slate, identified with the \$1-an-hour movement, won a smashing victory over Reuther's supporters. Art Fox, spokesman for the Local 600 "Committee for Militant Unionism," was elected to the local bargaining committee with 845 votes as against 551 for his Reutherite opponent. The anti-Reuther slate elected six of the nine unit delegates to the Local 600 general council and won all 10 executive board posts in the unit.

This election at the Ford plant was watched closely by critics of the new UAW contract in GM and Chrysler locals, who are attempting to organize a national caucus to defend the auto workers against attacks by the corporations. Such attacks will surely be launched under cover of the basic union-management agreement now drafted for the industry.

Huey Newton Indicted By Calif. Grand Jury

In highly secret "Star Chamber" proceedings, which neither Huey P. Newton nor his attorneys were allowed to attend, Newton, Minister of Defense of the Oakland Black Panther Party for Self Defense, was indicted by a Grand Jury on the following charges: 1) Murder; 2) Assault with intent to commit murder; 3) Kidnapping (presumably of the man who drove him to the hospital after he was shot); and 4) Conviction of prior felony.

On Oct. 28, Huey P. Newton was the victim of a police attack in Oakland, Calif. Before the shooting was over, one cop lay dead, and another was seriously wounded. Newton was wounded in the abdomen and driven to Kaiser Hospital in Oakland. There he was manacled and strapped to a table, guarded by cops. He was later moved to a prison hospital, and is presently in a cell at the Oakland County Jail.

The *African American News Service* has reported that those closely connected with Huey Newton say that he was stopped by a police car while driving, refused to get

out of his car when improperly asked to do so, and then was confronted by another police car immediately called to the scene. One of his attorneys, Beverly Axelrod, says he had a legal right not to get out. The gunfire started after his refusal to get out, and Newton, if he did shoot, fired in self-defense.

Recently, five organizations marched down to central police headquarters in Oakland to make public their demands that Huey Newton be freed and that the draft protesters arrested in the Oct. 16-21 antiwar demonstrations be freed and released at once.

The participating groups were: Afro-American Student Union of the University of California, Soul Students of Merritt College, Black Student Union of San Francisco State College, Black Panther Party for Self Defense, and the Steering Committee of Stop the Draft Week.

Contributions for Huey Newton's defense can be sent to: Huey P. Newton Defense Fund, P.O. Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, Calif.

Phila. Black Teachers Fight Union Blast Against Students

By Joel Aber

PHILADELPHIA — More than 150 angry black teachers walked out of a Philadelphia Federation of Teachers meeting Dec. 15 after the union refused to rescind a letter by union president Frank Sullivan denouncing the massive Afro-American high school student demonstration of Nov. 17.

The walkout came at a general membership meeting of 1,500 teachers at Girls' High School, during which teachers almost came to blows. Black teachers were shouted down from the floor when they were recognized at the microphone to protest the letter from union President Sullivan to school board President Richardson Dilworth, linking supposed assaults on teachers to the 5,000-strong student rally at the school board headquarters last month. The letter said in part: "The safety of teachers was menaced this week by disruptive elements in our schools, who thrive on disorder and the opportunity to inflict hurt on others . . ."

The debate began when former union President James Ryan took the microphone on an unrelated agenda item to try to railroad through a motion "commending Sullivan's actions following the events of November 17." The main purpose of the meeting was supposed to be a discussion of contract proposals to be presented at expiration of the present two-year contract on Aug. 31, 1968.

Reminder

During the debate, Miss Elsie Cross, a black teacher and member of the union's negotiating team, pointed out, "Some of you object to students voicing their grievances to the school board during school hours. I remind you that we will be voicing our grievances when we picket the school board during school hours during our strike next September. If we believe we have a right to engage in peaceful protest at the school board headquarters, then we must defend the right of students to engage in a peaceful demonstration for the kind of education that they want."

When Miss Cross mentioned the word "peaceful," referring to the demonstration which had been brutally attacked by hundreds of club-swinging police, she was hissed. "I am sure we all agree that we have the right to strike for our \$9,000 salary demand, and we will need the support of the black community as well as the white community," Miss Cross continued, "so we'd better support our students — 60 percent of whom are black — when they make legitimate demands."

A white teacher asked the body, "Are we so petty that we get all upset when some of our students go over our heads to speak to the school board?" She, too, was hissed and booed.

A black teacher was greeted with catcalls when she said that the Sullivan letter was a "direct and horrendous attack on black students." She said that the demonstration "could teach us a thing or two. The kids are much more adult than their teachers, who don't know about how to answer power with power."

A former New York City teacher said that the racial bigotry exhibited by the union would create even less support for its demands for higher pay than was received from the New York black community by the United Federation of Teachers earlier this fall.

Every time that the union leadership took the floor, they received prolonged ovations on their par-



POLICE ATTACK. Peaceful demonstration by black students in Philadelphia was viciously attacked by cops on Nov. 17. Teachers union head sided with cops.

liamentary arguments to cut off discussion.

After the union had voted against rescinding the Sullivan letter, against issuing a positive statement in support of the right of peaceful demonstration by students, and in favor of commending Sullivan, Peyton Grey, a black teacher, shouted over the catcalls and chants: "We have reached the point of no return. I ask all black teachers and friendly white teachers to join me in walking out" of the meeting.

At that point virtually every black teacher in the meeting walked out, joined by a few white teachers.

After the Sullivan letter first became public in Philadelphia, two teachers' groups were formed to fight against it and to support the demands of the high school students. At a meeting Dec. 8 the groups met jointly. One group, named Concerned Teachers, favored handing in resignations from the union unless it retracted the Sullivan statement. The other group, Teachers for Social Action, organized under the leadership of Elsie Cross, a member of the union's negotiating team, is not in agreement on the tactical value of mass resignations.

Both groups, however, are unanimous in demanding the ouster of Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo, retraction of the Sullivan statement, and the support of student demands by the school board and the union. Teachers for Social Action has outlined its position in a press release, including among others the following resolutions: "That we support a Bill of Rights for students, including the rights to demonstrate peaceably, to bargain collectively, to make demands, to carry on democratic student government and to discuss current problems freely; . . . that we favor the development of a required curriculum in American history; . . . that we favor political, social and economic power for the powerless black community to influence the decisions that affect them."

The black high school students have been waging an effective campaign for black control of their

own schools — for a meaningful course in Afro-American history, for the right to wear African clothes to school, for the removal of all police and non-teaching assistants from the school grounds.

Instead of carrying on a unified struggle against the same school system which makes school irrelevant and useless for black students and refuses to grant decent working conditions for teachers as it should be doing, the union leadership has egged on the school board in its oppression of Afro-American students.

French Publish Full Magazine On Malcolm X

Présence Africaine, Cultural Review of the Negro World, devotes nine articles to Malcolm X in its current bilingual issue, Number 62, 2nd quarter, 1967.

In French are articles by Daniel Guérin, who also wrote the introduction to the French edition of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*; Clifton DeBerry of the Socialist Workers Party; two chapters from *The Last Year of Malcolm X* by George Breitman; the program of the Organization of Afro-American Unity; a memoir by Carlos More, Afro-Cuban writer, about Malcolm's visit to Paris in November, 1964; and a eulogy by Iwiye Kala-Lobe, a Cameroon journalist.

In English are the text of a telephone conversation with Malcolm in February, 1965, after he had been denied entry to France; an article by John Henrik Clarke and Sylvester Leaks; and an epitaph by William Strickland.

Copies of the issue may be ordered for 7 francs, around \$1.40, from *Présence Africaine*, 25 bis, rue des Ecoles, Paris 5e, France.

Another important essay on Malcolm recently appeared as the introduction by Roberto Giammanco to the Italian edition of the *Autobiography*.